

5 A 2
R E V I E W
OF THE
PROPOSED NATURALIZATION
OF THE
J E W S;

BEING

An Attempt at a dispassionate Enquiry
into the present State of the Case,
with some Reflexions on GENERAL
NATURALIZATION.

By a Merchant who subscribed the Petition
against the Naturalization of the Jews.

L O N D O N,

Sold by J. WAUGH in *Lombard-street*, and in the
Pamphlet Shops. 1753.

R. E. V. I. E. W.

OF THE

RECORDS OF THE



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Right Honourable — —,

SIR,



DDRESSES of this kind are of so singular a nature, it is difficult for the author to pay honor to the patron, and at the same time to do justice to himself and his subject. Persons in your station, are seldom courted with any homage, which is consistent with the nature of opposition.

The manner in which I dissent, may
however induce some to imagine, that
instead of pleading my cause with
A 2 zeal,

iv DEDICATION.

zeal, I only make it an occasion to offer incense to your power. Unhappy people whose deviations from virtue have rendered so much dependent on *one*, yet will hardly believe *he* can be entitled to the tribute of disinterested praise! Have the Great in office no title to the enjoyment of the true prerogative of substantial merit? Shall we remember that there is no person without many imperfections, and not make great allowance for men in public life? If, upon the whole, the virtuous scale preponderates; as we have good reason to believe, we shall *receive* favor *hereafter*; we ought to *show* it *here*. And what just grounds are there to imagine, that the welfare of this nation, is not the prime object of your ambition?

With regard to the subject of this pamphlet; is it to be conceived that
Mr.

DEDICATION. v

Mr. — could entertain a single thought of favoring the *Jews*, but as such favor might advance the general welfare? the conclusion then is very clear, that it was the moderation and benevolence, by which you are so much distinguished, that induced you to subscribe to this measure.

Whether the end proposed can be answered, is what we are now to consider. But we can never discover the truth, if under a notion of *opposing* unpopular measures, we become the *dupes* of a party interest. To correct a *mistake* in some instances, argues greater sagacity, than the not committing *one*. In the *first case* we generally struggle with a strong prepossession: In the *last*, the supposed wisdom oftentimes arises from no better cause than a supine inactivity.

But

VI DEDICATION.

But whilst other men are gratifying their inclinations *in their way*, I have as good a right to indulge myself *in mine*. I am constant to my principles and opinion, with regard to the matter in debate, yet I have not the less pleasure in declaring my veneration of your character, and the sincere respect with which I am,

SIR,

your most obedient

humble servant,

Tunbridge-Wells,
August 5, 1753.

A MERCHANT, &c.



A
R E V I E W
O F T H E
P R O P O S E D N A T U R A L I Z A T I O N
O F T H E
J E W S, &c.

C H A P. I.

Introduction. General reflexions on naturalization. The expediency of attending to our domestic Oeconomy, to answer the end proposed by Naturalization.

 E have now had time to consider the arguments on both sides the question, relating to the naturalization of the *Jews*. On the *one side* we have seen several matters advanced as *facts* which are really *no facts*; and several mistakes

mistakes have been entertained with regard to the supposed importance of the *Jews*. The argument has been also treated in a loose manner, and with little attention to the importance of the subject. Instead of a sober and steady remonstrance, we have also seen a spirit of clamor conjured up; and as a natural effect of it, much hath been thrown out, as little consistent with our character, as a polite and humane people; as injurious to the tenderness which christianity inspires. I speak of that part which has been really handled in an improper manner, and not of every thing which hath been said on either side of the question.

As the different views and interests of men lead them different ways; they are apt to swerve from the real merit of their cause, as if they meant from *false* extremes to find out the *true* medium. To this purpose one may observe an humorous remark in a letter lately addressed to the public, concerning the marriage bill. In this piece, which seems to be wrote by a very able penman, lawyer, and logician, the author supposes an application to parliament to be made by fan-stick-makers (whose employment is of late fallen off) concluding that *they* would be as strong in their expressions

ons of danger to the *religion, liberty and commerce* of their country, as the remonstrances have been against the naturalization of the *Jews*. These people being under such particular circumstances with regard to their customs, manners, and religion; the subject of their naturalization hath of course been treated in a very different manner, from that of any design of the like nature, with regard to christians.

Before I proceed any farther, I will be bold to say, that I not only imagine the Bill in question will not produce any *bad effect*; but I believe it will produce a *good one*. In the *first place* I take it for granted, that *no Jew* will be naturalized in consequence of it; and in the *second*, that the *Jews* themselves will have the wisdom never to make so absurd a request again. But whether these supposed effects will arise from the clamor made against the Bill, or from some better cause; it must be clear, that no man of sentiment, nor any lover of his country, ought ever to *wish*, much less to *solicit*, that *clamor* might *prevail without reason*; or, if we could substitute any consistent rule of conduct in its place, that it might ever *prevail at all*.

Some of the warmest advocates for the naturalization of the *Jews*, pleaded with no less zeal for a *general naturalization*, when this subject was before the parliament. It was once imagined, and not without foundation in the reason of the thing, that the proposed *particular naturalization* of the *Jews*, had no less for its object than a *general naturalization*. Whether this was really the case or not, I shall indulge myself in making some reflexions upon this principle. The argument hath been warmly urged by many real patriots and well-wishers to their country, from the consideration of the supposed great utility to be derived, from the diminution of the present price of labor; and with a view to supply our navies and armies with men. Others, equally lovers of their country, but less speculative in their notions, and less sanguine in their expectations, argue from a *fact* which is undeniable; *viz.* "That
 " we have great numbers of people in this
 " island who are supported by charity; either
 " because the means of supporting themselves
 " by the labor of their hands, is not afforded
 " them; or, that the wisdom of the legisla-
 " ture hath not yet found out a way to *compel*
 " them to work;" consequently these opponents to a *general naturalization* say, " That
 " our

“ our domestic oeconomy ought first to be regulated, before we can even *judge* of the expediency of introducing a number of foreigners *at a venture*.”

It hath been urged, indeed, with some appearance of reason, “ That to conquer the deep-rooted laziness of a people, it is necessary to bring in examples of industry, and the good effects of it before their eyes; and that the admission of foreigners, who settle in this country, is so far from taking the bread *out* of the mouths of the natives, that it is putting bread *into* the mouths of those who otherwise in a short time must have none.” They add further, that experience hath taught us, what great benefits may be derived from giving countenance to foreigners.

HERE we may observe that *one* point is taken for granted, which remains to be proved; and *another* supposes that things are at present as they were formerly, which I apprehend is not the case. Every nation is now applying themselves to the cultivation of their natural advantages; and improving all the various arts of life, in order as much as possible to establish an *independency*, by the means which are in their

own hands. If *they* act wisely with regard to *their* situation; if notwithstanding the great heights to which we have already carried our improvements, we have yet a *great deal* of work upon our hands, and *great care* and circumspection are become necessary to the support of our domestic oeconomy, independent of foreign succours, we certainly ought to make *more vigorous efforts* towards *this end*, before we enter upon the consideration above mentioned.

Were we to search out the causes of the idleness and extravagances of our own *people*, we should find the distemper lies too deep to be cured, by the expedient of introducing *strangers* among them. If we have already more people than we have wisdom or abilities to employ, we may invite foreigners to eat *that bread* of which there is already no superfluity. The distinction of foreigner and foreigner, is as necessary, as that between idle and industrious natives. The acquisition of manufacturers, who are skilful as well as industrious, can hardly fail of producing good to this country. As to foreign merchants, when they apprehend that their profits, or pleasures, will receive any encrease by it, they come to us of course.

Gen-

Gentlemen of property who prefer to live among us, have also no temptation from the notion of *general naturalization*. We are then brought back to the *multitude* of common people. Here we find that we rather want *new trades*, and *new manufactures*, than *new people* to be employed in those we already possess. If the price of labor should be decreased, the charge of supporting a numerous additional poor, must add a weight to the price of the thing made or manufactured. If still greater numbers of our people become a dead burthen, they will indeed *depend* on *strangers* even for their bread. This is the condition of some of those nations whose riches arise, not from the *productions of the earth*, with regard to the necessaries of life; but from the metals which are dug from the bowels of it. But whilst there is so great wealth in a country as in this, I apprehend that instead of *lowering* the price of labor by means of foreigners, we should rather *raise* it; not only on account of the superiority such foreigners would acquire, but, as already observed, by the encrease of our own poor. Thus the *general force* of the argument still turns against a *general naturalization*.

Expe-

Experience proves that our own countrymen, however *idle* and *profligate*, and consequently *poor*; such who are really so, will eat, and drink, and continue their species. There is but *one remedy* to prevent it, and that is to *hang* all such. This remedy would be plainly worse than the disease. What then is to be done, but to use lenitives and emollients? By degrees we may work a reformation. It depends on the influence and example of the *rich* to make the *poor* useful. There are hardly *ten* persons in the whole kingdom, so wicked and abandoned, as to be rendered incapable of amendment. As in a religious sense there is joy in heaven at the conversion of *one* sinner; so in a political light, the conversion of one native member of the commonwealth, to become useful by his labor, is an acquisition of great consequence; *perhaps greater* than that of half a dozen *strangers*. We are to consider then how to reform those abuses, which lead us to seek for a supply of *people from abroad*; the natural effect of our endeavours, will be a *great* encrease of our *own people*.

It is granted that a number of working poor, such as perform the drudgery and useful parts of life, do constitute the chief riches of a nation;
and

and not simply a number of mouths to make a large consumption. The method most agreeable to our constitution, and least repugnant to the genius of our fellow-subjects, I apprehend will be this:

First to discourage the use of spirituous liquors, and such things as are hurtful to health, and productive of idleness. The *incredible number* of public houses ought to be restrained *: they are a bane to the common people of this nation. In those villages where there is *no public house*, there is *no drunkenness*, nor other effects which ruin the constitution: on the contrary, there is one continued scene of industry, labor, and delightful rest, of which I have lately had an opportunity of seeing a very striking proof.

The next article is the particular countenance and encouragement which ought to be given by gentlemen of fortune, in their respective

* But how are we to raise money to support the state? May we answer by asking other questions? Hath it been yet put to a fair issue, if the legislature *can* levy monies by *means* which have no such pernicious effects on the health and morals of the people? and are we to exist for a few years; or do we extend our views to future ages?

COUN-

countries, to render matrimony more universal among the poor; whilst *themselves* shew an example, by the sobriety of their own lives.

The third consideration is education, which is the great source of *public* as well as *private* virtue; and no less in *low* than in *high* life. The neglect of this is the chief cause of those mischiefs by which we are distressed. There is then no kind of charity more glorious in itself, or more beneficial to the public, than the relief of an industrious parent of many children, at a crisis of their fortune. Their virtuous labor and frugality, may by such means, be transmitted down to their children, who will be thus rendered useful and worthy members of the community. But if they are once reduced to the necessity of eating the *bread of idleness*, at the *public* charge, how mean soever that bread may be, they become, with regard to *industry*, what those who have been publicly whipped generally are, in respect to their *morals*. The sense of shame in both cases is extinguished. Instead of *cherishing* a principle of sobriety and diligence, we *nurse* a habit of idleness, and with the want of industry, piety, and every social virtue must languish and decay.

It

It is confessed that one of the great evils under which this nation labors, is the heavy charge occasioned by our numerous poor. This is an evil of so complex a nature, that the wisdom of the legislature, hath not yet discovered any *practicable expedient* for the removal of it. Indeed, as the *support* of the community, upon the *present plan*, must ultimately terminate in the virtue of individuals; I do not conceive, there *can* be any *effectual remedy* without the vigilance and attention of the *rich and beneficent* to succour the distressed, at such seasonable times, and in such a proper manner, that whilst we *relieve* the *private* object, the charity may, by a direct and immediate consequence, *preserve* the *public* also. The breeding up a multitude of people to prey upon the industrious husbandman, and manufacturer, must be ruinous. Unless these people do *their share* of labour, they can serve no other purpose than to keep pace *in their way* with the luxury and corruption of the *higher ranks*; and both together, must, in the course of time, subvert the best constitution in the world.

Those readers who are of this way of thinking, may immediately reduce the theory into
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practice,

practice, * and prove to themselves the analogy between *temporal* and *eternal* felicity. They may at once advance the interest and happiness of their Country, and remit part of their riches to heaven, where their hearts certainly ought to be, if they desire to be there themselves.

Here then we may reason upon naturalization from *real life*, and from an instance which every *child* may comprehend, which every *man* will commiserate, and every *christian* relieve, bring the argument *home*. Here we may see so many

* The circumstance I allude to, happened very lately and was mentioned in the public papers.

Mrs. *Watkins*, of *Walthamstowe*, in *Essex*, had the misfortune to lose her husband the 8th of *July* last, by his falling under his own cart. She is left with seven young children and big with the eighth. He rented a farm of forty pounds a year, and was industrious in his employment; but the charge of supporting such a numerous family, so far prevented the encrease of his stock, that he hardly left his widow sufficient to pay the rent which was due. This accident has drawn the attention of several of the neighbouring gentlemen, and other *pious* and *noble* benefactors. It may be hoped it will still engage others to enable this poor woman to go on with her farm, which by the assistance of her brother, she designs to do. She has hitherto brought up her children in the cleanest, most decent and proper manner imaginable for her circumstances; and to all appearance will continue to support them in the same manner, without their becoming any burthen to the public.

prostitutes

prostitutes who prey upon the thoughtless youth, prevent marriage, and obstruct the encrease of the people, rendered virtuous by being bred to labor. We may also figure to ourselves robbers and murderers, who are lost to God, themselves, and the community, made sober husbandmen and mechanics, by the virtuous examples of their parent, and the effect of a happy education. What we may naturally compute their encrease to be in thirty or forty years, is within the reach of every common capacity.

Thus we shall dry up the source of the calamities under which we languish; and render our *poor*, the most useful, instead of the most burthensome and dangerous part of the inhabitants of this island. Thus we shall breed up children in *bumble life*, to be an honour to their parents, their country, and benefactors; thus we ought to be watchful to teach them to till the ground, or to fight our battles; to be zealous of our country's good, and to worship their God, in the profession of the purest religion in the world. But we chuse to amuse ourselves with a refined speculation, concerning the encrease of subjects by a general naturalization;

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and

and like the dog in the Fable, lose the substance by catching at a shadow.

The encouragement of protestantism in *Ireland**, with that zeal which becomes *good* christians, *true* protestants and *sound* politicians, is another circumstance of the highest moment, Might we not expect to receive from thence such supplies of men, for the improvement of the arts of peace; and for the support of war, as would render our speculations upon general naturalization, as *unnecessary*, as we have hitherto found them *ineffectual*? whereas by our neglecting our interest in this circumstance, our enemies procure *those supplies* which are ready upon all occasions to act against us, as they have more than once done with great success †;

Could the fashion be introduced, we might receive farther encrease of useful people: a much less number of Servants than we entertain, might answer all the ends of domestic oeconomy, and produce a much greater tranquillity and satisfaction in *great* families; but this we must pass

* See the scheme of the incorporated society of *Dublin*, to which *considerable* donations are made, but very short of the *importance* of it. It is amazing that any man, even of a small fortune, shall pretend to any regard to his country, and not subscribe to this political as well as pious charity.

† Witness *Fontenoy*.

over. *Sumptuary laws* are become necessary to abridge our *vanities*; but the great freedom which we enjoy renders us repugnant to such laws; we must therefore *wait* till the state is in *greater distress*; or in other words, we must approach yet nearer the precipice, before we open our eyes, and see our danger.

To these reasons might be added, that we have something more to be watchful of, than barely a supply of our *present necessities*. Liberty is of a very tender and delicate nature, subject, as our modern histories prove, to many changes and revolutions. Our ancestors have often bled for it, and have been tenacious of keeping up a spirit of national honour and bravery, even among the *lower classes* of the people. Would a *general naturalization* tend to strengthen or enervate that spirit? If such naturalization brought in but a *small* number of people amongst us, it would signify very little; if it introduced a *great* number, it might create *great* confusion. We have reason to judge from the temper of our people, that a clashing interest would arise between natives, and foreigners; and probably between the foreigners of different nations also. We are already too much disposed to party and faction; and altho' under arbitrary governments
such

such evils are not much to be dreaded; yet *with us* they ought to be guarded against.

If what I have advanced should be rather deemed *ideal* than *practicable*, we can only appeal to the hearts of individuals: we shall soon discover that men of fortune and leisure, might easily reduce these notions into practice, and reap the glorious fruits of them. Examples of piety, generosity, and public love, tempered with such wholesome severities, as particular occasions render necessary, *must* have their proper effect. It is certain that the want of *Examples*, and the erroneous conduct of the *rich*, render so many of the *poor* useless: it is not the want of foreign succours, which makes the nation *languish*. If the notions of national honour, and public love, are *really* become *obsolete*; I am afraid that the *mean self-love* of individuals, tho' it may supply a *different principle* by which the state is supported *for the present*, cannot answer our purpose *very long*. We *must* bring these notions again in fashion, or *farewel liberty!* If she *takes up her rest* amongst us for half a century longer, it will be a greater miracle than the Romish church can boast of.

Thus

Thus far I have said, in a presumption that only those whose thoughts were inclined to a *general naturalization*, could ever entertain any design of *naturalizing Jews*. If a general naturalization was to take place, in consequence of which the *Jews* might be included, the opponents of this project would be disarmed of some of their arguments; and yet as none of the *Jews* are husbandmen, manufacturers, mechanics, soldiers or sailors, *they* of all mankind have the least title to naturalization.

C H A P. II.

The antient state of the Jews, some of the prophecies concerning them, which discountenance the naturalization propos'd.

OUR business now is to enquire, if it is consistent with our religion as well as our honor, and our politics, to naturalize *Jews*. For this purpose we may consider the subject in an enlarged view, with regard to the prophecies previous to their great national crime of crucifying the Lord of life; and their national punishment in consequence of that unparalled act of iniquity.

iniquity. From hence we may *possibly* be led to believe, that as they are not suffered to establish any *Government* of their own; nor permitted to *incorporate* with any other nation, therefore they ought not to be *naturalized*.

Their great lawgiver *Moses*, and the prophets also, did most plainly foretel the misfortunes which would befall the *Jews*. Whether with regard to the calamities they suffered in their several captivities, or the total dissolution of their government, what was predicted of them is most plainly verifys'd. "Thou shalt become an
"astonishment, a proverb and a by-word among
"all nations, whither the Lord shall lead
"you *." "The Lord shall cause thee to be
"smitten before thine enemies: Thou shalt go
"out *one way against them*, and flee *seven ways*
"before them; and shall be removed to all the
"kingdoms of the earth †." "And I will de-
"liver them to be removed into all the king-
"doms of the earth ‡." In fact we do find the *Jews*, thus sentenced, have been not only captives; but distressed, persecuted and slaughtered beyond any other people since the beginning of the world.

* Deut. xxviii. ver. 37. † Deut. xxviii. ver. 25. ‡ Jere. xxiv. ver. 9.

Why

Why this has so happened, may be accounted for upon the common principles by which we are permitted to judge of the divine conduct; and the natural effects of causes. Was there ever such an instance of the depravity and corruption of men as among the *Jews*? These people were so highly favored, that even the effulgent presence of the deity was locally displayed to them: the oracles of the almighty were declared, and his pleasure made known to this once selected nation. Yet such was their repugnance to the terms of their own felicity, that this very favor and indulgence, became the occasion of their crime and offence. We see how extremely averse they were to the reception of the Messiah: and their iniquity in rejecting him, was punished with a severity, proportioned to the distinguished mercy which had been shown them. In what an irresistibly plaintiff and melodious strain, doth our Saviour mourn over them! “ O *Jerusalem, Jerusalem,*
 “ thou that killest the prophets, and stonest
 “ them that are sent unto thee, how often
 “ would I have gathered thy children together,
 “ as a hen gathereth her chickens under her
 “ wings, and ye would not! behold your
 “ house is left unto you desolate!” The conduct

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of

of *his* life, so *amazingly* beneficent, so *replete* with the mercy of a God, yet did it not open their eyes. Not the *astounding* circumstances of his death could awaken them from their lethargy of iniquity. Not the sympathizing pangs of nature, nor all the copious streams of mercy which flowed from his wounds, could prevail on them to acknowledge him, as the Messiah.

Thus did these infatuated people give proof of the *greatest perverseness*, and demonstrate the highest instance of human error, which ever happened in the world. And what was the consequence of it after the death of our Savior? Their rebellion against the *Roman* government was the means used by divine providence, to work that destruction, which they had thus merited. They had filled up the measure of their iniquity: their abominations were become intolerable: and in the ordinary course of providence, nothing less could happen to them, as a state, than their total destruction.

After the taking of *Jerusalem* by *Vespasian*, we are told they were reduced to the *hard necessity* of paying a tax, toward the support of the *Heathen* worship. But their punishment did not stop here. In less than fifty years after the

the destruction of *Jerusalem*, a further rebellion against the *Roman* arms, under *Trajan*, cost them the lives of many thousands. In a few years after this, they again rebelled against *Adrian*, *Barchochebas* their leader pretending to be the *Messiah*. This rebellion was not suppressed 'till almost all *Palestine* fell a prey to the *Roman* arms, and near 600,000 *Jews* perished on this occasion. After that time, for near three hundred years, they were treated with such severity, that they were not even permitted to look towards *Jerusalem* from any eminence ; yet in the time of *Constantine*, they rais'd new troubles and fresh slaughter ensued.

Thus did the divine providence permit *the jewish* nation to be brought to confusion. It is true that the most potent monarchys of the earth have been long since dissolved. The *Babylonians*, the *Egyptians*, the *Greeks* and *Romans* have hardly left any vestiges of that splendor and power of which they were once possessed. These nations have been lost in the ravages of time, or incorporated with other people who became their conquerors. But the circumstances of the *Jews* always *have been*, and still *are* peculiar to them. May we not reasonably conclude from what we see, that it is the will

of providence, they should be preserved as a distinct people, never to be incorporated with other nations, whilst they continue in the same faith. The same miraculous and amazing conduct which has been shewn towards them, in their being first selected to establish the worship of the true God, will, to all appearance, be continued to mankind, by the *Jews* being instrumental to some further great end of his providence. The probability at least is on this side of the question; and so far is their history from countenancing their naturalization, that *every* circumstance of it, and the conduct of *every* nation in the world, pleads very strongly against it. The *Jews* are opposed to all the other nations of the world; but most of all to *christians*. And among the *christian* nations they are opposed to us, whose government will not admit of their naturalization, as I shall attempt to prove in my next chapter.

CHAP.

C H A P. III.

The naturalization of the Jews not consistent with the christian religion, and repugnant to the constitution of Great-Britain.

T H E R E is nothing in which mankind differ so much as in their religious tenets. Every man is in this instance his own sovereign, in a more absolute degree than any earthly king. He is accountable only to God. We ought therefore to be very tender how we challenge others for opinions which differ from our own: but still, with regard to laws, there must necessarily be a strong connexion between the *religious* and *civil* interest of a state. There is also *one great article* necessary to be acknowledged, without which men are subject to be hunted from society, as the most noxious of all animals. It will be readily concluded, that I mean the being of a God, and consequently the immortality of the soul. The *Jews* believe both in common with us; and yet with such a distinction, that we are left bewildered in a labyrinth, and confounded in error, without the acknowledgement of *that article* which

which *they* flatly deny. If *Jesus Christ* is not divine in nature, *christianity* falls to the ground; and all the glorious hopes we derive from thence, vanish like a dream in the night.

Ought we not then to be very careful of the *smallest* advance towards an incorporation with those, who not only *deny our God and Savior*, but whose faith leads them to think, that the same *Jesus Christ* whom *we* worship as *God*, was really an impostor. *Mahommed* taught better things than these; and monstrous as the doctrine of this *Arabian* is, he doth *great honor* to the author of our religion, compared with the opinion of the *Jews*.

To consider religion at large; this sacred name, though often prostituted to the purposes of worldly glory; yet has it ever influenced the *politics* of nations, even when the corruption of their manners seem to have estranged their hearts from God. But religion has been sometimes divided from *politics*; and where the latter has promised any worldly advantages, things have appeared through a *false medrium*: thus the understanding as well as the passions have received a *false* bias, and a very erroneous association of ideas hath ensued.

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In a case of so critical a nature as this before us, we *must* have recourse to *religion*; and this will teach us to do justice to all parties. We may observe that many who appear in *defence* of the *naturalization*, plead also for the cause of *christianity*, as well as that of *politics*. They urge the consideration of that charity which the doctrine of Chrſt ſo ſtrongly inculcates. They recommend the benevolence which the great author of our faith hath taught us to have for each other, however different in religious tenets. Concerning the crucifixion of our Savior they obſerve: “ that this very act
 “ of the *Jews* was to answer the wiſe and good
 “ ends of that providence which is to ſave us
 “ as *christians* ;” adding, “ that they ſhould be
 “ glad to know, if it may not with truth be
 “ ſaid, that provided it *was* againſt the ends
 “ of providence, it *would* not have been *poſſible*
 “ for the *bill* to paſs.” The former obſervation muſt be granted, but it proves nothing with regard to our preſent argument. The evidence which the *Jews* reſiſted, according to the common notions of mankind concerning juſtice, muſt have condemned them. The fact is, that God was pleaſed to puniſh them on this account; and it is highly reaſonable to conclude,
 that

that their *national* punishment will not cease, till, *as a nation*, they are converted to *christianity*. As to the *query* proposed: if the intention of the legislature can either not be answered *at all*, or proved to be attended with several evils; it ought not to be carried into execution: and thus the question is replied to, as much as, I apprehend, *such questions* can be answered.

Another religious reason in behalf of the naturalization of *Jews* is this; "That the Savior of the world when under his passion and suffering, set the behavior of the *Jews* on that occasion, to the account of their ignorance, praying his father to forgive them, for they knew not what they did." This *was* the declaration of our blessed Savior; this, without doubt, was the *genuine language* of the Redeemer of the world: but still it proves nothing; for neither from the gospel, nor reason, nor fact, are we led to believe that their crime, in a national light, *was* forgiven them; nor have *we* any authority to *act* towards them *as if* it was *pardoned*.

There is certainly a great distinction between being passive, by *suffering* the *Jews* to live
amongst

amongst us; and *making a law* to establish them. The *Jews*, I conceive, are not entitled to naturalization, for two plain reasons; the first is, because they *are Jews*; the next is, because they *are not christians*. The charity which true christianity inspires, doth allow of the *Jews* living among us, unpersecuted, unmolested. So long as *they* do not any thing injurious to the repose of the state, *we* do nothing to disturb them. But I apprehend that christianity doth equally disallow of our making a law which *enervates*, if it does not *counteract*, the first principle, on which our government is established.

I will not undertake to say, that the same civil polity by which we are governed, could not *possibly exist*, were we of a different faith from that of *Christ*; nor is it I think material to our present argument. It is really a fact that our religion as *christians* and *protestants*, and our civil polity as they now stand, are *interposed*. And I think it would be too dangerous an experiment to try if they *would exist*, was any change to happen to either.

If we trace freedom and protestantism to their source, we shall be led to think that they *would*

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not

not exist separately. Or, if we consider true christianity, as we profess it, and as the only *true religion* of mankind, with regard to their *common rights*; we shall also be led to believe, that the *temporal* and *eternal interest* of men are inseparably connected. The consideration of those *common rights*, though it doth seem to teach us the doctrine of toleration; yet it by no means weakens the necessity of such distinctions among men, as the support of *particular faiths*, or the *particular civil institutions* of communities, do require.

The king is supreme in ecclesiastical as well as well as civil matters. Kings are justly denominated the vice-gerents of the Almighty: they ought to be such; not in a loose and indefinite sense, but as the watchful guardians of those laws, on which, not the temporal only, but also the eternal happiness of their subjects depend.

This being laid down as a principle; is there any absurdity in reasoning thus? If *Jesus Christ* is our great *sovereign and lawgiver*, under whom we obey our temporal prince; and under whom we constitute a legislative power; *can* we with consistency make a law, which with regard to those for whose use the law is more particular-
ly

ly intended, favors an opposition to the acknowledgement of that sovereignty? It is true our Savior says, " my kingdom *is not* of this " world," from whence one would be led to to think, that political institutions, are foreign to the consideration of religious faith; but these words are immediately explained by his saying, " If my kingdom *were* of this world, then would " my servants fight," Here then the sword is entirely laid aside and all compulsive means forbidden to bring men over to the profession of a particular faith. The whole tenor of the gospel proves the same thing. Reason and the nature of things entirely subscribe; but still, as the *same* gospel, and the *same* reason and nature of things, do make very material distinctions between those who *did*, and those who *did not* believe in *Jesus Christ* as the *Messiah*, a *strong* reason may be drawn from hence, to divide *christians* from *Jews*, in *temporals* as well as in *faith*.

This argument is indeed of a delicate nature; but we have hitherto acted entirely agreeably to it. We have not yet naturalized any people but *christians*, except in one instance to which I shall speak hereafter. If this reasoning appears too abstracted for real use, perhaps

a little reflexion will render it familiar. It hath this on its side, that all *christian* nations have ever *acted*, and do continue to *act* upon this principle. But it is not the *christians* only ; I believe the people of every nation under heaven, establish a principle by which their *faith* and *temporal government*, walk hand in hand. The religious wars which have frequently happened both in *Christendom* and among the *Mahommedans*, prove that a very *bad effect* may arise from a *good cause*. By fixing their attention on themselves only, they have deviated from their own principle, and forgotten that mankind have an equal right to freedom of mind, however each particular government may, as I have already said, unite their faith and politics.

How far naturalization may be considered as an incorporation with the community, both in a civil and religious light, in this nation, may be deduced from this ; that the laws have hitherto enjoined the receiving the Lord's supper, as previous to naturalization : this hath been esteemed as a *badge of honor* as a christian, and a protestant ; and as a *token of fidelity* to the state. If it is seen in any *other* view at present ; I am afraid it is the result of a refinement, which is *less safe*, as well as *less intelligible*.

Can

Can the law in question take effect without blending *judaism* with *christianity*? Some affinity will be created by naturalization, more than existed previous to that compact. This I say must be in *circumstances* if not in *essentials*. I confess I am not able to separate *circumstances* from *essentials*. Perhaps it will be a dangerous refinement to *attempt* their separation even in argument. But that which may be done in discourse, cannot be brought down to the standard of common apprehensions, and reduced to practice. The world in general is governed by the *modes*, *circumstances*, and *externals* of things, as well as by their more *essential distinctions*; and this seems to be one of those cases, of which the *modes* and *circumstances*, may, for want of distinction, become *essentials*.

All our laws are supposed to be agreeable to, and nothing contrary to the christian religion. Is it according to that religion, to make a law, which upon the principle here laid down, removes one distinction between *christian* and *Jew*? A law, the tendency of which cannot be of an indifferent nature; which promises *no good* to us in a religious light, and may produce *great evils*. It is very plain, notwithstanding

standing the din of popular clamor, that this change is of so *delicate* a nature, that many who think *well* and *much*; as well as those who *judge ill*, or do not *to think at all*, are much alarmed. Many a serious man who is not so *low* as to be governed by prejudice, and party-passion; nor so *high*, as to consider politics independant of religion, trembles at the tendency of this law. The *Jew* himself, as he sees very plainly, that we act upon principles of policy, and as considering religion out of the question, whether we mistake, or not, he will most assuredly think dishonorably of christianity. If he sees us acquiesce in what himself would blush to perform, in similar circumstances, *will it* encrease his respect for us? He may say *it will*; but I should much doubt his honesty, or his veracity. But this is very clear, that if he had a due regard to his own religion, the notion of naturalization is what himself would *despise*, as rather more inconsistent with the nature of the *jewish constitution* to *accept*, than it is of *ours* to *grant*. What has been said by a very shrewd person of their faith, "That the naturalization was asked in "*folly*," seems to be a tacit acknowledgment of this assertion.

As

As to the *Jews* being converted to *christianity* by this indulgence, it is an argument in favor of the naturalization, if it could be made out: but shall we prostitute *christianity* in hopes of making *converts* to it? Experience has taught us what we are to expect in this light. It was said of old, "If they believe not *Moses* and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead." And we may say if they are not converted to *christianity* by the gentle treatment and indulgences they have met in this country, neither will they by *naturalization*.

With regard to ourselves, whilst religion sets very light upon us, as I am afraid it does at this time, there are certainly much stronger reasons to banish the most distant reflexion of a thing of this nature, than ever to call to remembrance, that *Jews* are made by law members of a community which is *christian*. By a transposition of the words, and neglect of distinctions, the *Jews* may at length be considered, as admitted to be *members* of our *christian community*. The thing itself, I grant, is a contradiction; but still I say, it may be the cause of great confusion.

In

In this case, it is very plain, that we either commit *a violence* on our religion, or leave it *entirely* out of the question: neither of which, I apprehend, ought to be. If the argument involves us in the least difficulty, we are sure of this; that the great *end* of our politics being the security of our *liberty*, and *religion*, every law of a *dubious* tendency, if it is not *absolutely necessary*, ought to be considered as *dangerous*.

With regard to the connexion of *church* and *state*; we find that on account of a small deviation from the established church, in some circumstances, rather of a *ridiculous*, than of a *serious* nature, an act * was passed, which is adhered to very tenaciously. However convenient it may be for *one* side, or *both*, to suffer that distinction to remain, is not my business to enquire at present. Much may be said with regard to our fellow-christians, and fellow-protestants; but if *any thing* can be said in favor of the *Jews*, it is so subject to misconstruction, that no one dares to appear in their behalf, with regard to the indulgence which

* Test-act.

christianity might warrant ; lest, whilst he pleads *their cause*, he should *abandon*, or *seem* to abandon, the *cause of christianity*. This I deduce from there having been nothing yet addressed to the public of a serious nature, by any one of those ingenious persons, who in a *general view* plead for the naturalization in question.

It is by no means consistent with the honor of divine providence, judging as men, to imagine, that although we are not warranted, either by scripture or experience, to believe that the *Jews* are admitted to incorporate with other nations, whilst they remain *Jews*; that they are not to be converted, and united one day with the *christians*, as *christians*. As they *believe* in *God*, it may be hoped they will *believe* also in *Jesus Christ*, as the true *Messiah* and redeemer of the world. It will certainly be no reason to a *JEW* to profess *christianity* merely because he is naturalized ; but if he becomes a *christian*, it may give him a title to naturalization. Would to *God* they already possessed *that title*, that we might receive them into our bosoms ! Our characteristic is humanity : Our inclination, I hope, will never be wanting in the duties of hospitality. As *christians*, we deplore the *blindness* of these unhappy

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men,

men, in hopes they will one day *see* their error; and that the king and lawgiver whom they *fondly* expect, is indeed the *Messiah* whom they crucified.

But there is yet another reason which I confess strikes me most. If the *dispersion* of the *Jews* is a standing monument of the truth of the *christian* faith: if *that dispersion* is owing, as, in some measure, it doth appear to be owing, to those distinctions which *all nations* have observed towards the *Jews*; the naturalization proposed must *wound* christianity, in proportion as it *weakens* that distinction. And in *proportion* as we throw any *additional power* into the hands of the *Jews*, whom we know to be *constitutionally indisposed to christianity*, if not actual scoffers at it, we *hurt* the cause of *christianity*.

I hope it will be clear to the wisdom of the legislature, that it is more easy to *prevent* than to *cure* an evil; and as this doth *now* appear, to be one of those laws, the observance of which can do no *great good*; but the abolition of it may prevent *great mischief*; that it will soon cease to be a *stumbling-block*.

To conclude this chapter, I have only to add, that although we are *extremely benevolent*, we are also *extremely lukewarm* and inconsiderate with regard to our religious interests. This, I say, is the *fashion* of the *times*, and therefore the naturalization of the *Jews* appears to me a *dangerous* step, since that very *benevolence* may be converted into a *crime*; and whilst we flatter ourselves into a belief, that we *act as good christians ought to act*, we may abandon those rules of conduct, without which there cannot be any religion *at all*.

C H A P. IV.

The antient state and condition of the Jews, particularly in England.

THOUGH the constitution, customs, and manners of this nation, are so very *much*, and so very *happily* changed within these two or three centuries: though we generally incline to think ourselves no ways behind our ancestors in wisdom and knowledge; yet I cannot help observing that we show such a reverence to antiquity as to *look back* to the days of *ignorance, superstition, and barbarity of manners,*

ners, to learn what ought to be our conduct towards the *Jews* at this time. Laws are sacred things ; but the customs and manners of nations are of no less moment to the security and happiness of strangers, who are not incorporated with the people among whom they live. But whether with regard to *laws* or *customs*, we find the state and condition of the *Jews*, as much *mended*, as we are ourselves *improved*. If we look back to *past times*, we find the *Jews* in *England*, much in the *same circumstances*, as they are *now* under *Mahomedan* governments : or as they are under those states, who think the *persecution* of these unhappy people, a *christian duty*.

It is true the *Jews* had their privileges and protections, but they paid *very dear* for them : they were also subject not only to have these annulled, by the arbitrary will of the sovereign ; but their effects were often seized, and severe mulcts imposed, for the liberty of breathing the common air. Thus they were as much under the harrow amongst us ; as they had been in other countries, in more distant ages.

After their banishment from *Judea* by *Titus*, the emperor *Claudius* drove them also from
Rome.

Rome *. In 615 they were driven out of *Alexandria*, and in the two following years from *Spain*. In the beginning of the seventh century they were banished from *France*. Near the close of the 12th century, bishop *Everard* expelled them from *Mentz*, and *Philip Augustus*, as they were at this time re-established in *France*, banished them a second time. The crimes of which they were accused, we shall have occasion to mention presently.

With regard to their *reception* in this nation, the most antient *Jewish* charter, is said to be given by *Henry II.* to a *Jew* of *Lincoln*, where, as well as in *Oxford*, they were settled in considerable numbers. It is related " That
 " in the reign of *Richard I.* the *Jews* of *Nor-*
 " *wich*, *Bury St. Edmond's*, *Lincoln*, *Stamford*,
 " and *Lynn*, were robbed and spoiled. At *York*
 " five hundred of them, besides women and
 " children, took refuge in the castle, where
 " they offered money to the *christians* to save
 " their lives; but being refused, they cut the
 " throats of their wives and children, and cast
 " them over the walls on the *christians* heads;
 " then burnt the castle and themselves in it.

* This was 430 years after Christ.

“ In the following reign, king *John* command-
 “ ed *all the Jews*, men and women, to be im-
 “ prisoned, because he would have *all* their
 “ money. Some of them delivered up *all* they
 “ had, and yet promised more, to escape ma-
 “ ny kinds of torment.” This prince however
 granted a charter, for the support of *Jews*
 who embraced the *christian* religion; and they
 were permitted to settle in the most populous
 towns. But how reluctant the people were to
 the entertainment of them, in those days, ap-
 pears from a *grant* made by *Henry III.* to the
 inhabitants of *Newcastle*, that no *Jew* should
 be permitted to inhabit *their* town.

In the 37th year of *Henry III.* it was pro-
 vided, under pain of forfeiting their goods,
 “ That no *Jew* should remain in *England*
 “ without doing the king some service; and
 “ that there should be no schools of *Jews* in
 “ *England*, except in such places where schools
 “ were wont to be in the reign of king *John*.
 “ That all *Jews* in their synagogues should ce-
 “ lebrate with a loud voice. That every *Jew*
 “ should be answerable to the rector of his pa-
 “ rish, for all parochial dues charged on his
 “ house. That no christian should suckle the
 “ child of a *Jew*; nor any *christian* man, or
 “ woman,

“ woman, serve any *Jew* or *Jews*, nor eat
 “ *with*, nor abide *in* their house. That no
 “ *Jew* should have a secret familiarity with a
 “ *christian* woman; nor any *christian* man,
 “ with a *Jewish* woman. That no *Jew* or
 “ *Jewess* should eat or buy flesh in Lent. That
 “ every *Jew* should wear a badge upon his
 “ breast. That no *Jew* should enter into any
 “ church, or chapel, unless in passing to and
 “ fro. That no *Jew* should hinder another
 “ *Jew*, who was willing to turn *christian*. And
 “ that no *Jew* should be suffered to abide in
 “ any town, without the king’s license; ex-
 “ cept in towns where *Jews* were formerly
 “ wont to reside *.”

In 1250, this prince accused the *Jews* of
 clipping money, and found no less than three
 hundred guilty; forty of them were hanged,
 and the rest bought themselves off. Indeed
 the extortions on these unhappy people run so
 high, that this prince, and his successor *Ed-
 ward I.* in the space of seven years, extorted
 no less a sum than four hundred and twenty
 thousand pounds. In the year 1291, *Edward I.*

* These regulations seem to be founded on the canon or pon-
 tifical law, which is still for the most part observed in *Rome*, and
 in several other parts of *Italy*.

banished them to the number of fifteen thousand at one time. He confiscated all their estates, and left them only just money enough to bear their charges to carry them away. Notwithstanding these severities practised in this nation, pope *Innocent III.* gave the *Jews* a particular toleration in *Rome*, in hopes of converting them to christianity: but they were at length expelled by him also, under this character, *mus in pera, serpens in gremio, & ignis in sinu.*

It is very hard to judge how far the *Jews* might be criminal, to draw upon themselves such treatment. Derision and contempt of our Savior was indeed imputed to them as one of their greatest crimes. Defacing the coin of Christendom drew on them a general odium, though many a christian has been hanged for the same fault. As to their illegal correspondence with *christian* women; in those *unfashionable days* the laws considered it as the highest offence. If it was now punishable with us, as it is among some christian nations, they would be subject to *fines* and corporal punishments: whilst *Mahomedans*, with regard to *their* women, and according to *their* laws, subject the *Jews* to be punished with death, unless they become *Mahomedans*. The stealing and crucifying

cifying *christian* children was a crime imputed to them : how far the bigotry and inhumanity of some might lead them, is difficult to say, but it is hardly credible that this should have been a general crime, and that their whole nation should suffer for it. Usury, forgeries and other species of iniquity were also laid to their charge, as if they really were in *general* more guilty than the *christians* ; or that the superiority of the *christians* over them, rendered the *Jews* more *obnoxious* to punishment, than the *Christians* were among themselves.

The stories related of the *Jews* do however prove, that *they* were very wicked in those days ; or that the *avarice*, *ignorance*, and *barbarity of manners* of our ancestors, were not much inferior to the *infidelity* and *immorality of the Jews*. It is certain that after residing here two hundred and thirty years, they were banished, and kept out for three hundred and sixty four years. In 1655, they had again a re-admission into *England*, in consequence of a treaty between the usurper *Cromwell* and *Manasseh Ben Israel* ; they were again restored to their worship in this country. These are the outlines of the *Jewish* history. How

wonderfully things are changed in their favor will be the subject of the 6th chapter.

C H A P. V.

The present state of the Jews in most parts of the world except England.

LET us now consider in what esteem the *Jews* are held at this time in other countries, and from the comparison teach *them* what to *ask*, and *ourselves* what to *grant*. If we travel into *Asia* we shall find that although the *Mahommedans* act upon a very different principle from the *Christians*; the *Jews* are often treated, as if they had no title to enjoy the *rights* of our common humanity. It is indeed among their states, as it is with the *Christians*, according as the respective governments are conducted upon the principles of justice and equity.

In *Persia* the *Jews* are poor and contemptible. In *Turkey* they are more important with regard to their commercial connexions; but still they are frequently fined with great severity. In *Barbary*, where they are settled in considerable numbers, they are treated with such gross indignities, that no *Jew* dare lift up his hand against

gainst a *Mahommedan*, even to defend himself, or to protect his bed from violation.

From *Russia* they are totally expelled, not for their virtue we may imagine ; though the political views of that nation are *more* contracted, and their toleration of religious opinions, *less* indulgent than *ours*. At the same time we must do the *Russians* the justice to observe, that they show great marks of favor, even in a religious light, to *christians* of almost every denomination. How often the *Jews* have been threatened in *Austria* and *Hungary*, late years have furnished us many authentic reports ; and during the late war they were actually expelled from *Bohemia*. The *Genoese* will not tolerate a *Jew* in their territories ; whilst in the *pope's* dominions, at least at *Avignon*, no strange *Jew* is suffered to enter the town, without paying a *toll*, the same as any parted hooffed beast. At *Rome* they are permitted to live, but they have their separate quarters, and are not suffered to intermix with the inhabitants. The same is also practised at *Venice*.

I have heard it advanced in favor of the naturalization in question, that in *Tuscany* the *Jews* are permitted to buy lands. If this is

true, which I do not believe, the only remark I can make on it, is, that it is some alleviation of their misfortunes in being thus persecuted in every quarter.

How they are treated in *Spain*, as well as in the *American* dominions of that monarchy, we are well informed from accounts of the terrors of the inquisition. No native *Jew*, notwithstanding the great numbers supposed to be in that country, can make open profession of his religion, unless he has a mind to be *burnt*. In *Portugal* the name of a *Jew* is a term of such high reproach, that a man being called *Jew* * to his face, if he stabs the offender, the laws do not condemn him. The reason is plain, since to be called a *Jew*, implies a suspicion of his being such; and that suspicion may afford sufficient cause for the inquisition to lay hands on him. To enter into a detail of their treatment in that country is unnecessary; since it is well known to all the world, that the *Portuguese* cannot bear the name of a *Jew*, and consider it as a *christian duty* to wage perpetual war with them.

* *Judeo.*

If we now come back to *Holland*, and consider it as a country of commerce, freedom, and toleration of religion, still I never heard of such a thing as the naturalization of a *Jew* in the United Provinces. On the contrary, the *Dutch* are zealous of supporting a distinction; and to guard their own people from any encroachments of men whose faith is opposed to christianity. They confine the *Jews* to a particular quarter of *Amsterdam*, the same as is practised in almost every great city in *Europe*, where *Jews* are permitted to reside, though not so strict as in *Italy*, and some parts of *Germany*. In *Amsterdam* there are some eminent merchants of the *Jewish* faith, but they are by no means considered in any respectable light. It is said they may buy land: but what privilege is it to purchase land estates in a country where such estates are not worth any thing? In what little esteem these people are in *Holland* may be deduced from this, that any *Jew* who has illegal commerce with a *christian* woman, is subject by law to be *publicly whipped*; and in fact they are often fined instead of suffering this infamy *.

* The *Hollanders* are not very delicate in regard to brothels, since it has been found the policy of the state to allow of them under certain limitations, for christians.

In *Poland*, and some parts of *Germany* there are a great number of *Jews* settled : but *how little* are they *regarded*, or rather *how much* are they *despised* ! What their employment is, and of what use they are in those countries, we shall have occasion to mention more fully hereafter. In short let us look round us on every side, and we still behold the *Jews* excluded, even under the least desirable governments, from every thing that can possibly bear the *name* of naturalization. And such marks of distinction are fixed on them, as if providence had intended, that *no christian might ever behold a Jew, without calling to mind his redeemer, and the truth of the religion he professes.*

But as the conduct of the *French*, that polite and ingenious, as well as commercial nation, has engaged our *particular attention*, we must answer to what is advanced with regard to them, as exactly as possible. It is suggested that the *French*, for these two centuries past, have practised that *very rule* of conduct, which is designed for the proposed naturalization, extending their indulgence to the *poor*, as well as to the *rich Jews*.

“ In

“ In 1550, *Henry II. of France*, by his let-
 “ ters patent declares the *Jews* capable to pur-
 “ chase, inherit and enjoy *real estates* in *France*,
 “ *Comme de vrais Regnicoles, et sujets de Roi.*
 “ *Henry III.* in 1574; *Louis XIV.* in 1656;
 “ and *Louis XV.* in 1723 and 1728, renewed
 “ and confirmed this privilege, *Sans que les Juifs*
 “ *soient tenus de prendre aucunes Lettres de Na-*
 “ *turalité.*” These words might lead the wisest
 into a mistake. That the *Jews* are true and
 faithful subjects to the king of *France* no doubt
 can be made; and as to the latter words, which
 may be construed, “ without the *Jews* being
 “ bound to take out their naturalization;” it
 seems to me an artful way of *refusing* their na-
 turalization instead of *granting it*. Under this
 notion of *indulgence*, the *French* do in fact *treat*
them with very little tenderness. Ask a *French-*
man if a *Jew* is naturalized in *France*; he will
 laugh in your face for making so absurd a sup-
 position. It is said, that during the regency of
 the duke of *Orleans*, the *Jews* in *France* did
 offer *two millions of Livres* for their naturaliza-
 tion; but this prince, however great a libertine
 he might be, either thought the thing absurd,
 and inconsistent, or too *unpopular* to be at-
 tempted.

The

The *Jews* are indeed received as merchants in *Bordeaux* and *Bayonne* ; but they are confined to a spot, and not considered as having any title to that politeness, and affection, which the *French* shew to one another. In *Lyons* they are not permitted to reside above three months, and pay *toll* at the bridge, the same as a parted hoofed beast. I have heard it said that in *Alsace* as a conquer'd country, they are permitted to hold lands, under particular limitations and restrictions ; but even this is very doubtful. In the three bishoprics of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, being the frontiers towards *Germany*, the *Jews* have a particular indulgence as merchants, but enjoy no privileges in any other light, more than they do in *Germany*.

From the whole tenor of the conduct of the *French*, one would be led to imagine, that they deem it a gross absurdity in *politics* as well as *religion*, to suffer the *Jews* to spread themselves through their country. So far from receiving them into their bosom, I am assured that only *one Jew* is permitted to reside in *Paris*, as a representative of all others of his faith in the *French* dominions. No other *Jew* is permitted to remain in that city, without entering himself in
the

the *Police*, and then only during forty eight hours. If any strange *Jew* doth remain there a longer time, it is in a presumption that he shall not be enquir'd after.

Now, if I am not grossly misinformed, and if the conduct of the *French* government is really such as I have related, and that it is also deemed of sufficient weight, to be a rule to us; it is very clear, that we are not to naturalize the *Jews*. Moreover it will appear from the concurrent practice and opinion of all nations, civilized, or uncivilized; learned, or ignorant; in slavery, or freedom; *Mahomedan*, or *Christian*; that providence hath to all appearance placed a *bar*, an impregnable bulwark, against the *Jews* being incorporated with any people under the heavens, in any such *manner* or *degree*, as the notion of *naturalization* doth imply.

C H A P. VI.

The great indulgencies shewn the Jews in England, no argument for their naturalization. State of their condition as denizens, in consequence of royal charters, and the indulgence of the crown.

WE have already explained from indubitable facts, that the *Jews* are in a state of persecution, in a greater or less degree, in every quarter of the world. Little need be said to prove, that they are so far from being *persecuted* in *this* country, that they are *highly favored*. In all estimations of happiness we are to consider, not so much what men *do enjoy*, as what they *do not suffer*. To what tax, mulct, or other expensive burthen, are the *Jews* subject in this country, more than the *Christians*? to what indignity are they exposed? it is a plain argument, that the indulgence shewn them has hardly *any bounds*, or they certainly never would have *asked* for their naturalization. Happy *Israelites* of our time, who bask in the sunshine of our benevolence! I hope the warmest of their opponents mean them no harm; but we neither *love*, nor *respect* them to that degree,

as

as to endanger *our own* preservation, or that of *our posterity*, on their account. We would not be willing that the purity of our religion should suffer any stain ; the honor of the nation be contemned ; and what affects us intimately as merchants, that our *reputation and commerical connexions abroad* should suffer any prejudice.

The happiness of the *Jews* is so much the more distinguished in our opinion, when it is remembered, that upon the principles we now argue, neither the *laws* of nations, nor the *laws* of humanity *are*, or *can be* more strictly observed towards them, by any people, than they are by us. Happy it is for them, that as no *real* form of government is so admirably modelled as ours ; they can no where enjoy so great a *security* of their lives and properties. This security seems to have *lulled* them into a supine neglect of themselves. They have either forgotten, that they *themselves* are *Jews*, or that *we* are *Christians* : but they would do well to consider what *have been* the effects of an *overweening* confidence.

It is recorded that “ *William Rufus* encouraged the *Jews* to enter into disputation with the
“ bishops ; and swore by the face of St. *Luke*,

“ that if they got the better he would himself
 “ turn *Jew*.” The historian adds, “ the *Jews*
 “ grew so insolent upon this encouragement,
 “ that they openly derided the *Christian* religion.
 “ However they soon found their mistake, and
 “ were forced to leave *London*, and fly for shel-
 “ ter. Many of the *Jews* became so terrify’d,
 “ that two hundred of them were converted to
 “ *Christianity*, in one day, at *Dunstable*.”
 What sort of *Christians* they were we may
 easily conclude ; but from hence we are
 taught that any *Union*, or *appearance of union*
 between *Christ*, and *Antichrist*, cannot with
 safety be attempted. The *Christian* is in-
 structed not to transgress through a *false* no-
 tion in politics, or a *false* zeal in religion. The
Jew is yet more strongly admonished, not to
 be the *foolish occasion* of his own misfortunes.

The *Jews* themselves are certainly most
 deeply interested to behave with that modera-
 tion, which is best calculated to support them in
 the establishment, which they have acquired in
 this country. I *thought* in the beginning of this
 affair ; I *declared* my opinion, and am still con-
 stant to it, that the privilege at which the *Jews*
 now aspire, might hereafter become one of the
 chief causes of their persecution. God forbid
 that

that a spirit of bigotry and enthusiasm, should ever prevail in this nation ! But whether it is from a *good* or a *bad* principle ; if the conduct of the *Jews* should at any time give offence, their naturalization, if such should take place, will to all appearance raise the higher indignation, in the breasts of their persecutors. In the mean while, they are giving alarms to those foreign nations, who are their constant and avowed enemies.

Whatever advantages they might receive by naturalization, it is very plain they never can be *incorporated* with us, whilst *they* remain *Jews*, or *we*, *Christians*. They do not *desire* to be *incorporated* : but is it not *highly reasonable* to believe that they propose to themselves a considerable augmentation of their influence and power, in this nation, by means of naturalization ? these people who are so attentive to their worldly advantages ; can it be *conceived*, or *imagined*, that they would take so much pains for *nothing* ? They have either put themselves, under the guidance of men of very narrow capacities ; or, what is more probable, they do flatter themselves, with the enjoyment of *greater advantages*, than are generally allowed, to be the natural result, of the naturalization proposed.

And

And why did they in the time of *Cromwell*; and likewise in the reigns of king *William*, queen *Ann*, and his late majesty, solicit for their naturalization, if it was really of no consequence to them? To *reason* upon this principle, is, as if we imagined, they were ignorant of *their* interest, or *we* indifferent about *ours*.

Let us now consider some of the reasons which induced the legislature to proceed thus far. As to the power which the *Jews* have, or *have not*, by law, I do not conceive that the *force* of the argument *rests* upon it. Whatever *laws* there are in *being*, if they can be proved to be injurious to the community, ought they not to be *revoked*?

The debate has afforded us an opportunity of learning what the greatest part of our merchants had either forgotten or never known, *viz.* that the *Jews* are already naturalized by an act of 1740, at least “ that those *Jews* “ who have already resided in the *American* “ colonies, or who have served as mariners, “ during the war, two years in *British* ships, “ are become natural born subjects of *Great-Britain* without taking the sacrament.” It may now be asked how that bill came to take place? The considerations which *affect* us *now*,
certainly

certainly did not *affect* us *then*. But this is no argument against those, who *now* apprehend the proposed naturalization will be injurious in its consequences. The inclinations of a people, consequently the *laws* of a *nation*, *differ* extremely, at *different times*, and perhaps in no country more than in *Great-Britain*. As the case now stands, there seems to be *strong* reasons to repeal *that act also*; much *stronger*, I apprehend, than to throw any *additional power* into the hands of the *Jews*. *Indeed if it is just and right to repeal either, the same reasons will hold good for both.*

Let us examine now the political arguments made use of by moderate people, who have declared for the naturalization of the *Jews*. “Why should not,” say they, “the father enjoy what the son already possesses? The latter when born in his majesty’s dominions, is a natural-born *Englishman* and free to purchase lands.” I apprehend they mistake the matter, and that there is no such thing as natural-born-*English Jew*. As to our appeal to the records of *Henry the 2d.* with regard to their purchasing of lands, I believe it will amount to no more, than a permission granted for that purpose by a royal charter. We find

find the *Jews* totally expelled this kingdom from 1291 to 1655. I know not how far lawyers may deem this expulsion a revocation of such charter ; but surely it can be no ways obligatory to us, any otherwise than as we find it convenient. Perhaps if we search the thing to the bottom, we shall discover, that the *Jews* were only made *Denisons* by that charter ; and I am told there is a very material difference, between a *denison* and a natural-born subject. A *denison*, as I understand, cannot legally inherit land by descent ; but particularly a *Jewish denison* does not enjoy this privilege,* or I am grossly misinformed. Indeed no opposition has been made *in our time*, to such inheritance, nor do I apprehend there will. I have heard a *Jew* complain that as the law now stands, his brother's estate to which he is legal heir, devolves to the crown, thereby tacitly acknowledging the *mistaken notion* that a *Jew* born here is a natural-born *Englishman*. Whether any thing *can consistently be done* in their favor, supposing this to be the case ; or whether any thing

* We find a certain great *Jew* was so sensible of this, that he holds his estate by a particular act of parliament, by which *he* had a liberty to purchase by its being granted to *another* to sell it to *him*. Besides, this *Jew*, if he is a *Jew*, has the wit to bring up his children *christians*.

thing is *necessary to be done*, we must leave to the wisdom of the legislature. Be this as it may, it by no means invalidates one single argument against the proposed naturalization.

The truth is, that the *Jews* have always *been*, and perhaps always *will be*, in a great measure dependent on the clemency and justice of other nations; and their greatest security must depend on the constitution of that government, and the moral character of the people, with whom they reside. We do not find that since their *modern establishment* among us, which is now of one hundred years standing, they have been *once molested*. The tenderness and equity of the present government have, without doubt, afforded a very strong reason to the *Jews*, to believe that the favor of naturalization would be granted them; and perhaps *no time* would be more proper than this, when our notions of policy are so much enlarged. But as *unlimited speculations* in politics, may be as ruinous as narrow and contracted opinions; *some restraints* are certainly *necessary*. In the mean time the *Jews* have the highest reasons to thank God, for the *good* which they enjoy. If they grow jealous of us, and are not contented; there is just grounds to suspect, that instead of a virtuous

acknowledgement of the dispensations of providence, they are intoxicated with indulgences which have been shewn them, by the government of this country: indulgences *by means of which* they have acquired many great fortunes; and *which* they now safely enjoy. May their conduct be such as always to entitle them to that enjoyment!

C H A P. VII.

Of the number, employment, riches, and poverty of the Jews. The impropriety of their possessing landed estates. The absurdity of the right of disposing of church benefices.

WE come now to view the present state and situation of the *Jews*, from whence we may deduce, that their naturalization is *improper*, or *unnecessary*.

The number of the *Jews* is very differently reported: some have made them only six hundred families, containing two thousand souls. The *Jews* themselves have of late pretended that their number is ten thousand, agreeable to what was mentioned by one of the merchants, at the

the bar of the house of commons, and which was not contradicted. However, the nearest computation, I apprehend to be seven thousand; and yet the number of opulent families, do not exceed twenty, the half of which number are merchants. The next set of people in rank are brokers, and they hardly exceed forty. With regard to trade, they are what a trumpeter is in the army. They are by no means respectable in themselves, nor are they deemed the most honorable in their profession; but I am willing to think they are of use, because they are frequently the occasion of setting other people to work.

Next to these come a train of *hawkers*, and *pedlars*, and *traffickers* in every *imaginable* commodity, in every *imaginable* way, but very few in *that* which is deemed *regular*, *honorable*, and according to the ordinary rules of civil polity. In this general list, we must include those who buy, and sell, stolen goods. Gentlemen who have been curious in their remarks, observe that many second-hand things, exposed to sale by the *Jews* in *Flanders*, are of *English* manufacture. It ought not to be imagined that these are *all stolen*, since they *buy* great quantities, in what is generally called a *fair way*.

In the light of *itinerant pawnbrokers*, and purchasers of that which the seller ought not to dispose of, a late complaint of the university of *Cambridge* may be urged in proof, that such kind of wanderers are oftentimes detrimental. As to the *qualities* of the goods which they *vend* up and down the country; the complaint made against them, seems to carry with it a reflexion on the understanding of the *buyers*; we will therefore pass it over, as not essential to the present argument.

Now if the calculation of their numbers just mentioned, be true, the proportion of their *poor* must be very great. It is said in their behalf, that as the *necessitous* are maintained by the *opulent*; the former are rather a *benefit*, than an *injury* to a state: but this I apprehend is not true, for the reasons mentioned in my first chapter. It is rather a diminution of the merit of the *Jews*, that their *poor* are really a *burden* to a nation. They serve for little more than to raise the price of provision to the industrious laborer, from whose shoulders they take no part of the burthen. These poor are indeed supported by the funds of their synagogues, arising from the taxes imposed on their people, by their elders; and by the offerings made at the time of prayer

prayer in their synagogues, and on all other solemn occasions. Thus far they act with equal policy and humanity; since if the *Jews* were permitted to beg about the streets, as the *christians* most *impolitically* and *unchristianly* are suffered to do, they would necessarily bring such a disgrace upon their fraternity as would expose them to many pernicious consequences.

There are some few ingenious men among the *Jews*, physicians, as well as merchants; but their number in *this* country is exceeding *few*. Among the lower classes of the people, however great their poverty, they are naturally, or by custom, averse to labor. Their religion cuts them off from commerce with the rest of mankind, and I cannot discover that they learn any *art*, or practise any *manual labor*. They are of no use in agriculture, or manufactory; neither will they serve us in our army, or navy. Notwithstanding this, it is highly reasonable to believe, that under a notion of being put on the footing of natural-born *English* subjects, many *Jews*, in very despicable circumstances, will flock over to us. They know that wealth is to be acquired in this commercial country; and considering what their morals and fertility of invention in acquiring riches, generally

rally are, it is probable that under the countenance of naturalization we should soon have an encrease of *Jews*, though they should be masters of no more money, than just to pay the expence of naturalization. Some of them, no doubt, would have the expence borne by their *rich friends*, since the *more Jews* are naturalized, the *greater* will be the weight and influence of *Judaism* in this country; and the more opportunities they will have of assisting each other. We see already, that in all cases where the pecuniary interest can receive any accumulation, or additional strength, they cling to us with all the fondness imaginable.

Thus it does appear, that *this country* may really become to them *an asylum*, in a sense which *no other country* has yet been, since their *dispersion*. Is this the thing intended by the legislature? If it would advance our *political interest*, without wounding our *religion*, liberty, or commerce, every good subject ought to subscribe to it.

But our *immediate view* has been to the *rich Jews*, in hopes of partaking of *their wealth*, in consequence of *their commerce*, and other connexions with us. Here I must beg
leave

leave to observe, that the act neither *doth* or *can* confine the naturalization to *such persons*, unless it could establish an *inquisition*, to examine if a *Jew* is *rich*, or *not*; and require security, that he shall not alienate his wealth: the supposition of both which is ridiculous. The reasons which first gave occasion to the proposed indulgence of the *Jews*, were these.

“ That it would probably bring an addition of
 “ men and money into the kingdom; and as
 “ these would tend to the general advantage,
 “ the favor could never be understood to be
 “ confined to the *Jews*, in prejudice to our-
 “ selves. That a number of *rich men* might
 “ flock over to us, and the natural effect of
 “ such an acquisition, would be an increase of
 “ commerce.” It has been urged further, “ That
 “ we have two millions of *Jewish* property in
 “ our funds, great part of which belong to
 “ *Jews* residing in *foreign parts*, who conse-
 “ quently contribute nothing towards the sup-
 “ port of our government; but, on the con-
 “ trary, lay out their interest in additional
 “ stock, and increase the mortgage upon us;
 “ whereas the expedient of naturalization,
 “ might induce such *Jews* to leave the conti-
 “ nent, and come into this island, in order to
 “ spend

"spend the produce of their stock amongst
"us."

As to their possessing a sum of two millions in our funds, considering that they are seldom reconciled to so low an interest for their money, it is much to be doubted whether this be a fact. I have heard of *one Jew* who has two hundred thousand pounds in our stock, and only of *one* who makes any figure in that kind of wealth. The riches of these people have certainly been represented much greater than they really are. I have already observed, that there are not in *London* above ten *Jew* houses of business of any great note, and that their men of fortune do not exceed the like number. But these people have a peculiar art of magnifying their wealth, and from thence derive a credit, which they employ to the enriching of themselves, under a notion of promoting the national service. How few of those *Jews* who are masters of estates, have really *brought* them into this country! and of those who have *acquired* them *here*, it might be well asked to which of them the nation is really indebted? It is the *manner* in which private property is acquired, that constitutes the augmentation of the *national stock*, at least in this country.

country. I know of *some Jews* who have traded themselves into poverty ; and yet have done more real benefit to this nation, than *others* who have acquired *great fortunes*. If we consider the injurious practice of jobbing in stocks, and the supplying national demands by our submitting to the means of extortion, no doubt can be made of the great abilities of the *Jews*. But in this instance I think they are rather to be *dreaded* than *caressed*. The support of this nation I hope will never depend on *such instruments*. If it is not the inclination, or interest of our own merchants, and moneyholders, to support the public credit, upon any exigency ; what deplorable circumstances must we be in ! We all know that it was the interposition of our own merchants, which prevented the execution of a *Jewish project* during the late war, which must have involved this nation much deeper in debt.

But of all the reasons which have been advanced in favor of the *Jews*, *nothing* was represented in a stronger light, in the beginning of this affair, and yet, I think, *nothing* is of so dangerous a tendency as this. It was said, that if the *Jews*, under the authority derived from naturalization, should purchase land,

the value of our lands would be enhanced in proportion to the sum which should be brought to market for that purpose; and that in proportion to the *value* of our lands, must the *opulency* of the nation necessarily be.

People under the circumstances of the *Jews*, should ever be employed in pecuniary affairs, and not in laying money out in land. They are useful *as merchants*, as we shall shew presently; but *inconvenient* if not *dangerous* in the light of landholders. A merchant compared with a gentleman of a great landed estate, is in a *certain degree* of inferiority. Commerce is the *source* from whence the splendor of this nation arises. The gentleman of estate in land is the *spring* from whence the channels of trade are supplied. But as there ever will be frequent occasions in which a higher principle must prevail than mere self-interest, his zealous affection for the community, or his indifference towards it, must raise, or depress us as a free nation; consequently in proportion as our common interest is changed, or the attention of many opulent subjects diverted by other objects (and who can expect the same regard from a *Jew* as from a *Christian*?) the effects, though not immediately felt, must in the course of time be *very pernicious*. The

The *reason* which is urged in their behalf, "That the *Jews* cannot purchase our estates, unless we have a mind to sell them," is, I think, a *bad reason*. The dissolute manners of many who have been masters of very fair patrimonies, have led them into the necessity of disposing of their estates. We know not what opportunities may offer in the revolutions of time, for the *Jews* to become possessed of great estates in land. If the power of purchasing them is *granted*, the consequences of such an indulgence are to be *dreaded*. If it should be the case with half the island to change hands; and the estates were purchased by our own moneyed people, though it left the *Jews* the only merchants in the land, it would certainly be much better, than that a *Jewish* landed interest should predominate. The *Jews*, like fire and water, I am willing to think, are good *servants* in a *commercial state*; but they are very *improper masters* for a *free people*. I grant that neither our *religion* or *government*, are in so tottering a condition as to afford any *immediate cause of fear* of our being *supplanted* by naturalizing *Jews*. To suppose that such naturalization would in a *direct view* supplant us, might be deemed *querulous* if not *factionous*: but are we

not to regard remote consequences ; and *consider future ages* with the same pious zeal as our *ancestors have considered us* ? The truth is that our lands are already very valuable, and the evils we labor under, such as arise from causes of a very different nature ; the admission of *Jews* may render these evils *worse*, but cannot possibly mend them.

It is not, I apprehend, the desire and intention of the legislature that *Jews* should *buy our lands* ; but only that they should bring *their riches* into this country. But as an inducement to bring *such riches*, a naturalization is proposed, in virtue of which they will be legally empowered to buy estates. Now we all know, that the love of ease is natural to mankind ; and that there is a certain period of life, in which men of fortune, *Jews* as well as *Christians*, are generally inclined to realize some part of their wealth. Would not such *realization* be either dangerous or *inconvenient* ? *dangerous* in the light I have already mentioned ; *inconvenient*, inasmuch as every sum which is laid out in land, must be taken out of trade ; and *this is the very thing which the legislature would not encourage.*

Will

Will any one pretend to say that our landed estates would be better in the hands of *Jews*, than in *our own*? Will the *Jews* teach the common people such a moral, or religious conduct, as ought to be expected from *Christians*, and *men of education*? if they will not, so far as the happiness of this country, depends upon the good order of the people *as Christians*, so far we lose by suffering a *Jew* to buy an estate.

I have already mentioned that it is practised in the great Cities where *Jews reside*, to appoint them certain quarters distinct from the rest of the inhabitants. Under such circumstances, it is not to be imagined they can make any great impression on the minds of the common people: but give them power to purchase land by virtue of their naturalization: let them be dispersed through this country, and become masters of many landed estates: let them be the only persons of weight in several towns, and villages, remote from the capital: leave the common people who inhabit such places, without the *example, influence, or protection*, of any man above their own level, except a *Jew*; I confess it makes me tremble to think what the consequences of such a step might be. I do not believe

lieve that such people would become *Jews*, because a *Jew* has too much policy to attempt making profelytes; neither do I think that the *Jews* would become *Christians*; but such common people, whose religion already fits light upon them, might soon give it up entirely.

I must repeat, that altho' the effects of such measures should not be immediately felt; yet there is the highest reason to apprehend, that we should suffer much more by the exchange of the *English* country gentleman, for the *foreign*, or *native Jew*; than we could possibly gain by the acquisition of *those riches*, by means of which estates may pass from the hands of *Christians* into those of *Jews*.

It may be further asked, whether it is true policy to admit of any kind of foreigners as land-holders, who will not fight upon an emergency, in defence of their possessions. I know not upon what authority it is said; but I have been told, that a *Jew* will not fight in defence of a *Christian* country. We have some of *our own sectaries*, whose principles do not allow them to take up arms; but whatever may be necessary with regard to *them*, it does not seem consistent in a *free country*, to give a man the possession
of

of a landed estate, which he will not draw his sword to defend. In enquiries of this nature, *every thing* which can be said on either side of the question, is not therefore *necessary*. Upon the whole, the impropriety of the naturalization appears in a very strong light.

But there are reasons, derived from a more direct and intelligible policy, at which I have already hinted. The indulgence of the *Jews* to *purchase estates*, must divert them from the *pursuit of trade*; tho' at the same time we know, that in this light only they are useful. I have known a *Jew* in *Portugal*, who had been *twice* in the inquisition, and *twice* deprived of his estate; and yet for the *third* time he accumulated a considerable fortune. This could not have been possible, had he vested his money in land. The *Jews* in *Poland* and *Germany*, I apprehend, are not admitted to any privileges, but what simply regards their commerical intercourse, either among themselves, or the natives of the country. In the light of *merchants*, *farmers of the revenues*, brokers, *pedlars*, and such like, they are of great service; but the lands, particularly in *Poland*, are held by the nobility and the clergy, who lend their money to the *Jews*, at the enormous interest of eight or ten *per cent*.

Would

Would the *Jews* be able to pay such an interest, were they *diverted* from trade through any *encouragement*, or even *permission* to buy land? on the contrary, would not the *Jews* become in some measure the equals of the nobility and clergy? or for want of commerce, they would either not have any money *at all*, or the value of it would only regard the price of their own consumptions.

As to our withholding from the *Jews*, a right of *purchasing*, or *inheriting* any *benefice*, *ecclesiastical living*, or *school*; the thing speaks *so much for itself*, that *nothing* need be said for it. Would there be a grosser absurdity in the nature of things, than that a *Christian* ecclesiastic or teacher, should be dependent on a *Jew* in a *Christian country*? we might indeed submit to this, if the *Jews* were become *our masters*; but not whilst *we are theirs*.

CHAP.

C H A P. VIII.

Political reasons against the naturalization of the Jews, with regard to their immoral character, and the temper of our own people.

DO we stand bound by any law of *natural right*, to give the *Jews* their naturalization, because they *ask for it*? we ought to do unto all men, as we would they should do unto us; but in the case before us, the *Jews* ought to prove their right to demand their naturalization, before we grant it. Were they to require our jewels and plate, should we therefore give them, as the *Egyptians* did of old? divine providence did then interpose in *their* favor, and I hope the same providence now interposes in ours. There is certainly no reason for our acquiescence, founded in the general character of these people: If we have *usurers*, *extortioners*, and men of other professions, of immoral lives amongst ourselves, it is rather a reason, why we *should not* naturalize *Jews*, than why we *should*. I am afraid the *Jews* are in general an immoral people; and more the children of this world, than the *Christians* are. The sober sensible *Jews* do acknowledge this; and I believe it will be found,

L

that

that their *wickedness* as well as their *faith*, have often exposed them to persecution. This appears to me a *very strong reason*, why we should not receive them into our *bosoms* ; and it ought to be a *reason to them*, to be very careful of their conduct, among those foreign nations, with whom they are permitted to live ; whilst the humanity and justice which prevail in this country, afford them the most ample favor and indulgence.

Immorality, and a vicious self-love, are vices very prevalent among us ; but I hope in a similar case to this before us, *we* should talk a very different language, from that which is spoken by *some of the Jews*. It was suggested that their countrymen *abroad*, would be *exposed* to difficulties, and not improbably *distressed*, on account of this very indulgence at which they aspire. But they, eager to grasp the present advantage, answer coolly that it *might* be so : indeed it is more than probable that it *will* be so. Now, if in a national light, men are devoid of the impulses of humanity, or of love for their own countrymen, what regard can they have for strangers ? if the consideration of a present interest, leads them not only to neglect the welfare of those who were lately their fellow citizens, but even
to

to run the hazard of exposing them to misery; what gratitude or affection can *we* expect, who profess a religion of which *they* are bred up in the strongest abhorrence?

But to wave the consideration of a point, in which *Christians* as well as *Jews*, are often guilty; let us acknowledge that there have been illustrious examples of virtue and piety among the *Jews*; examples which would have placed them in the rank of *Christian* heroes, had they been inspired with the same *glorious principles*. There are good men of all the different faiths under heaven, and we ought to believe, that there are several men of great probity among the *Jews*, in this country. There is one *Jew* merchant in particular * whom I have often heard mentioned with great honor; his charity and other moral virtues, seem to flow from that spirit of humanity, and universal benevolence, which God originally implanted in the minds

* A gentleman of great probity and honour assures me that he has received the highest proofs, that I do no more than justice to the character of the *Jew* here alluded to, by name *Benjamin Mendes Dacosta*; and this gentleman can hardly be suspected of partialty, since he was one of the warmest opponents of the naturalization; and tho' upon the principles of humanity and charity, he is a well-wisher to the *Jews*, he is also very constant to his opinion, that they ought not to be naturalized.

of men. The virtues of this *Jew* might make such *Christians* blush, whose power is equal to his; and yet their inclination and practice bear no similitude.

Indeed in these latter times, as most *Christian* nations are *improved* in their manners; the *Jews* are also less wicked than they were. The better sort of them disdain those practices, which have often rendered the people of their faith obnoxious to punishment. If we consider the moral precepts of the *Jewish* religion, tho' they are not so refined as those prescribed by *Christianity*, yet we plainly see that there are *very good men* amongst the *Jews*. But still these people are not inspired with the same principles as the *Christians*.

We are apt to consider the *Jews* as vagabonds and wanderers, but *they* boast themselves of being a *separate people, the chosen of God*; and I will be bold to say, that for this *very* reason, every *good man* among the *Jews*, must either disapprove of this attempt, or be distressed how to reconcile it. The notion they suck with their milk is, that they are a *great nation*, and all mankind usurpers of their sovereignty. This consideration reconciles their pertinacious adherence to the religion of their forefathers; and
invalidates

invalidates their claim to mix with any other nation : and it doth seem as if providence interposed in a very singular manner, that they *should* think so, and that the *politics* as well as the *religion* of all other nations, should thus oppose the naturalization of the *Jews*.

As to what concerns the temper of our own people, it may be observed, that as the word *Christian* is frequently made use of among the *vulgar*, to express the *idea* of *man* ; so when a *Jew* is spoken of, among those who are not conversant with people of this faith, they *hardly* associate the *idea* of *man*. Thus the consideration of our common humanity, is in some degree excluded. Tho' the manner of expressing their repugnance to this naturalization, may argue their *unpoliteness* ; yet as the experience of all ages seems to prove, that no union of this sort *can* or *ought* to be made, so far this repugnance may as well be deemed providential, *against* them, as the passing the bill is *for* them.

God knows we are more disposed to quarrel about *this world*, than to give ourselves much concern about *that which is to come*. We are more inclined to put up our consciences to sale, than

than to renounce any *paultry* pecuniary advantages: but still a minister must be a *bad* man, as well as an *unable pilot of the state*, who supposes there are not *good men* in the nation; therefore we may reasonably conclude, that as we are very far from being unhappy in this instance; but on the contrary, that peace, tranquillity, and the general welfare are the objects pursued, no just occasion of offence will be given, that may disturb the consciences of those who *mean well*, at the same time that if *there be* any such, those who *mean ill*, may be subdued by the arts of lenity and moderation.

C H A P. IX.

The naturalization of the Jews not consistent with the commercial connexions of this nation in foreign countries.

THE merchants who appeared against the bill, laid no small stress on the apprehensions they entertained, concerning our *foreign commercial connexions*; particularly with regard to the impressions, which the *Portuguese* will probably receive of us. It is true *we* might challenge them for supporting of an inquisition,

as well as *they* us for naturalizing *Jews*. But as these people do *bate* the *Jews* out of measure, for the same reason as we would *love* them out of measure, that is beyond our former practice, or the custom of any other nation, *we also* may become the objects of their hatred. As the case stands at present, we must be considered as *heretics*; yet we are esteemed such *moral heretics*, and have such regard to the propriety of our behaviour among them, as to be in almost every instance preferred to those foreigners, who profess the same religion as themselves. Besides, their commercial and political interest exactly coincide with ours: they are our friends and entirely attached to us; but doth it follow they will be always the same, let us act in ever so different a manner to what we have hitherto done.

It is the nature of mankind to *love* others, in proportion as they act agreeably to their humor and inclination; and to *bate* them as they deviate from this rule. *Experience* already in *some degree* evinces the truth of this principle, in the very case before us. If we should really naturalize the *Jews*, I am morally certain we shall decline into a very contemptible reputation in *Portugal*. But however the propriety of the reasoning *with regard to public affairs* in general

general, may be disputed ; I suppose it will be granted, that in our commercial connexions, we should have *a certain regard* to the genius of a nation, on whom an important branch of commerce depends. As we strive to adapt *our manufactures* to the taste of a people with a view to their better reception ; so far as is consistent with the nature of our constitution, we ought to adapt *our manners* also. I do not mean, that it is true politics to submit to any servile compliances, but to avoid any *change* in our customs, hitherto agreeable, or not offensive to our neighbors, when the *good* expected by such *change*, is not equivalent to the *risk* we run.

As a mercantile nation, policy doth then call on us to be tender what steps we take in a *matter so peculiarly circumstanced*. When all the nations of the world consider the *Jews* as a separate people, by a necessary consequence of the *Jewish* religion ; if we naturalize them, shall we not appear *abroad*, as if we made our religion subservient to our politics ? And if we *should* thus appear ; shall we not suffer a diminution in their esteem ? But this is most clear and indubitable ; that the *credit* and *reputation* of one nation with another, in a commercial view, and particularly with regard to those subjects

jects who reside in foreign countries, have a great analogy with the *credit* and *reputation* of a private merchant with other traders. When there is any extraordinary circumstance in the conduct of such private merchant, which is extremely offensive, he will certainly loose some degree of that respect which he found very serviceable, if not *essential*, to the conduct of his business. And if we put it in the *worst* light, he will secretly be undermined, and his situation rendered intolerably uneasy.

The *Portuguese* being blended with many natives, who are *Jews* in their hearts, have for some ages acted towards them with that severity, as if a *toleration* of *Judaism*, would bring on a total *subversion* of *christianity*, in their country. The jealousies which arise on this account, are almost as great those which regard their women; and both together render them, in too many respects, unsociable; and consequently, the less improved in their learning and manners. How extremely careful they are, of any mixtures of the *Jews*, appears from this; that those who are *new christians*, or supposed to be converts to *christianity*, are not admitted into any office, 'till certain evidences are given of the *purity* of their blood; that is, that they must

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have passed through, I think it is, above sixty removes, since their parents were known to be *Jews*. We have hitherto been considered by them as *untainted*; and though this reputation hath not been of any material use with regard to the enjoyment of offices, yet it certainly is of service in our commercial capacity. The ignorance of the common people in that country is such, that they have sometimes been induced to enquire very seriously, "*if the English are christians?*" Was the naturalization proposed to take effect, the question would be changed, and they would ask, "*are not the English Jews?*" The *humorous intimation* that surgeons are already gone to *Bellem** to examine the *English* who arrive there, to see if they are circumcised, seems to carry with it something more than a meer jest. It is indeed probable the inquisition would often suspect, that under the cloak of being *English christians*, *English Jews* would come into their country to transact business. However absurd the foundation of such jealousy might be, those who know any thing of the *Portuguese* will easily believe, that from being the most *beloved*, we might by so extraordinary a step become the most *despised* nation.

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* The entrance into the port of *Lisbon*.

It is probable the *Portuguese* will also consider us as establishing a law, with a view to entice rich *Jews* out of *Portugal*. I do not know that any number of rich men of that faith have at present any existence among them. If there *are* any such persons, to be anxious upon the subject of their coming over to us, is as little consistent with the honor of this nation, as the naturalization proposed, is unpromising of any advantages to us. They know if they do come here, they will be received under the protection of the most free, and most generous government in the world. What more do any of the *Jews* aspire at? And as to those who are already settled here; what more than they really enjoy, can they reasonably ask?

But if the reader should imagine that this is little more than the cant of a *Portugal* merchant; let him remember the great affinity between the genius of the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*. Both these states are at perpetual war with the *Moors* on account of religion. And the *Spaniards* in particular cannot support a religious war against the *Infidels*, with more warmth than the *Portuguese* against the *Jews*. How far the former carry their resentments, we have a recent instance in their conduct to-

wards the *Hamburgers*, who were absolutely obliged to *abandon their treaty* concluded with the *Algerines*; or to *abandon all commerce with Spain*. How far *political reasons* might interfere, or the *Spaniards* might judge it proper to give laws to so impotent a state as that of *Hamburg*, need not be insisted on. It doth appear that their resentments arise, in a great measure, from the *Hamburgers* making a *peace* with the enemies of the religion of *Christ*, with whom *they* never will have *peace*.

C H A P. X.

The Jews considered as merchants, the only light in which they can be considered as advantageous to a christian state.

TH E measures proposed by a legislature, though they should not quadrate with the inclination of their constituents, are most assuredly entitled to a *dipassionate examination*, and respectful treatment; and this is preparative for that composition, which it is sometimes *necessary* to make, in similar cases.

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There are some men of great probity and experience in this island, who inclined to the opinion that it would be much better for this nation, if there was not a *single Jew* it. This opinion is founded in a presumption that the commerce these people carry on, might be better conducted by our own merchants. How far this may be true, I will not take upon me to enquire. There are several reasons why we ought to shew *our good will* to the *Jews*, as *merchants*. Our present scheme of politics is generous: we have long considered the *Jews* as merchants, and as such have treated them with indulgence. The great object in view with regard to the proposed naturalization, is the promotion of commerce; and so far from *depressing* the *Jews*, their opponents never meant to deprive them of any weight in their commercial capacity; but rather to keep from them every temptation, which might divert them from so useful a pursuit. This must be evident to all the world; therefore whilst the *Jews* remain *Jews*, the least return they can make to us, is that of a modest deportment.

Whether

Whether it arose from an opinion the *Jews* had conceived, that they should advance their interest, by boasting of their importance with regard to their wealth and extensive commerce; they certainly found means, to make several persons of most eminence in this kingdom, believe, that their riches and trade are much more *important* and *extensive* than they really are: when they had carry'd their point so far, some idle expressions dropt from them, as if their abilities as traders were superior to those of our own merchants. An imputation of this sort is too *ridiculous* to deserve any *serious* animadversion. The *Jews*, from the necessity of their situation, are traders. Success has crowned the endeavours of some of them; they are remarkable for going *great lengths* upon the force of credit; but they are not *equal*, much less *superior*, in skill to our own merchants. Several of them have traded very largely upon small capitals, in consequence of which frequent bankruptcies have ensued, and great losses have been sustained by our own people. This consideration however is of a *private nature*, and entirely dependent on the prudence of individuals; but whilst the *effect* may, upon the whole, be serviceable to the nation, the *motives* upon which the *Jews* act,

act, do not entitle them to any pagenegyric. If their trading boldly is deemed *an actual proof* that they are useful to the state; it must be also considered as a presumptive argument, that it is the *interest of the state* to keep them to their merchandize; which, from what hath been premised, I do humbly conceive, may be accomplished with more ease and consistency, *without* naturalization, than *with it*.

If in this light *as merchants*, it could be proved that the qualification for naturalization is consistent with our general interest; yet it is very remarkable, that those who appeared most in favor of the *Jews*, do not so as much *pretend* that they know of any *one rich Jew* who will come here from any foreign country, upon the force of it. Men in circumstances to answer the purpose of the legislature, are not numerous in any country: and if we consider families *established abroad*, conversant with the customs and languages of a people; if we likewise consider countries, where provisions are much cheaper than in our metropolis, it is more probable that the naturalization proposed would bring here the *worst* rather than the *best* kind of *Jews*.

Whether

Whether any distinction in favor of the *Jews* as *merchants*, beyond other foreigners who are not naturalized, ought to be granted, is a circumstance we must leave to the wisdom of the legislature. The *Aliens duty* is of some consideration in the calculation of a *large trader*. I do not imagine however, that this small impost hath prevented any *wealthy Jew* from coming into this island; consequently the taking it off will be but a small temptation to such *Jews* to leave the continent; yet perhaps it will surprise the *advocates* for the *Jews*, when they consider that this is the only circumstance which is wanting to put them upon a par with the natural-born subjects, considered simply as *merchants*. If the *Alien's duty* then was yielded up to them, they would enjoy the *substance*, without hurting us in any greater proportion than the sum which such *Alien's duty* usually amounted to. And if the *number* and *riches* of the *Jews* should augment by any encrease of their trade, which the legislature will expect as the natural fruit of this indulgence, the deficiency will be made up to us, and the general interest advanced.

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I believe it will be universally granted that the *Jews* are faithful to the state : indeed their security, and protection, are intimately concerned in their fidelity. So long as they continue as they are, I am willing to believe, they will be useful in the *character* of *merchants*. As their *circumstances* naturally lead them to this employment, the consideration of those *circumstances* has long procured them protection in several of the polite nations of *Europe*. Riches, which are the chief objects the *Jews* have in view, can be most easily acquired by commerce. *As merchants they desire* to be countenanced. *As merchants we desire* to countenance them. If it is a fact that the *Jews* do *acquire* riches, and are *secure* in the enjoyment of them ; how came it to enter into the hearts of themselves or of any of their advocates, that we exercise a severity towards them, in not admitting them to the *full enjoyment* of *all* the immunities of natural-born-subjects ? It is true we are fellow-citizens, and commerce is the link by which men are united in love. This is the mutual interest which ought to subsist between *Christians*, *Jews*, *Mahommedans* and *Pagans* ; so long as commerce is conducted with integrity, it must produce a connexion and harmony, such as con-

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stitutes an universal commonwealth, among the whole race of mankind.

C H A P. XI.

Difference in opinion, no reason for animosity amongst fellow-citizens.

AS to the different opinions which have prevailed among ourselves, they are a consideration of a distinct nature, on account of which the *Jews* ought not to receive any good or harm. We are under a wise and free government ; we have constituted a legislature, to this we *ought*, to this we *must* appeal, as the arbitrator of differences.

Several merchants of importance, with no small number of packers, dyers, and tradesmen, did sign a petition in favor of the *Jews*; from whence it hath been inferred, that the naturalization proposed is a right measure, as it *may*, or, as they say, “ will encourage persons
 “ of wealth and substance to remove with their
 “ effects from foreign parts into this kingdom;
 “ the greatest part of which, agreeably to the
 “ experience of former times, will be employ-
 “ ed by them in foreign trade and commerce,
 “ in encreasing the shipping, and encouraging
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“ the exportation of woollens, and other manufactures of this kingdom; of which the *Jews* have for many years exported great quantities.” Many of the merchants were doubtless of this opinion, but neither of the petitions, *for* or *against*, creates any difference in the weight of the argument, as the case *now* stands.

The applications made on this occasion may however instruct us in one material point, that the genius of this nation is, to be either too much *asleep*, or too much *awakened*. Extremes are ever dangerous. The efforts of passion do however sometimes operate more effectually, than the calmer dictates of reason, and we see the most *beneficial designs* brought to a happy issue, by means not consistent with wisdom. It is very clear that neither the *vociferations* of *some*, nor the *mistaken zeal* of *others*, do enervate the force of the argument *against* the naturalization. We should desire rather to convince the understandings of men, than to inflame their passions, and return to our cooler deliberations, without regard to private interest, or party zeal. If the *voice of the people* can, with any propriety, be said to be *the voice of God*, it is only when that voice is *free*. I now take the liberty to say, that the freedom

of voice was most in favor of those who petitioned against the naturalization. The connexions of some of the petitioners in favor of the *Jews* are very obvious; therefore, without calling their *probity* in question, they must be *supposed* to lean to the side of their interest.

The petitioners *against* the *Jewish* naturalization, were not only more *numerous*, but more *important* in point of fortune. I know several of them who are men of great probity, and possessed of very large estates; and, what is more, friends to the administration, and in good correspondence with the *Jews*.

Differences in opinion ought by no means to create the least animosity among fellow-citizens. they should rather mutually gratulate each other, on the common liberty of declaring their sentiments. There is an equal right on the *one side*, to give their opinion in favor of the *Jews*, as on *the other* to argue against them. There are certainly many honest and sensible men on both sides the question. As to the *riches* of either side *, I look on it no more to the purpose

* I mention this particular though it may appear foreign to the subject, because the petitioners against the naturalization were thought to be of no great weight in the light of men of fortune.

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than the maintaining that he only can have the *best* of an argument, who is *richer* than his antagonist.

Since it is confessedly the *union of the whole*, which gives strength to the *parts*, it is most clearly our duty upon the principles of self-love, to cultivate a good understanding among ourselves. At the same time we ought to consider, that it is the *freedom* of our government that makes our minds also *free*; and that very *freedom* almost necessarily creates a variety of sentiments. As free born subjects, we should study the art of rendering the different opinions of individuals, productive of the firmer establishment of the community. For this reason I was sorry to hear it proposed, to publish a list of the subscribers of the petition against the *Jews*. What doth it avail, who were *for*, or who *against* them? If it was a *wrong* measure, it may be presumed that it will not take place. Those who can support their opinion, must *thank God* that they did *judge right*; and those who were *mistaken*, be *equally thankful* that their mistake has not produced any evil consequence.

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To *oppose* the execution of a design which is contrary to a man's principles, or his notions of good and evil, is as different from an *opposition* founded in a party zeal, (especially towards those who compose a legislature) as *light* from *darkness*, or as concord founded in reason, from faction, and an impious contempt of laws. Abstracting from the coercive power vested in lawgivers, there is a *reverence* due to them, which a *free people* can never violate without injuring *themselves*. Where the liberty of *remonstrance* is permitted from the very nature and essence of a constitution, the greater care ought to be taken, to conduct such remonstrance with propriety. When the liberty of declaring our opinion, is not restrained by such considerations, it is apt to degenerate; and that which was originally the produce of *sentiment*, of *generosity*, and *public love*, may become mean and servile; instrumental only to *faction*, or productive only of those low party views, against which it was at first directed. In *general* our *corruption* has warped our *understanding* as well as our *affections*; but there is yet a great deal of virtue and good sense in this nation; and consequently we *can* differ in sentiments, and

and yet support a good correspondence among *individuals*.

Further, though the doctrine of unlimited submission is dangerous in some instances, liberty will droop and languish when a legislature is treated with disrespect. A free people necessarily constitute themselves the judges in dubious cases; but every well wisher of his country, will reflect very seriously on the importance of supporting the authority and dignity of a government, before he opposes his constituent; lest the *remedy proposed* should, for want of *order*, become worse than the *disease*. There are many instances, wherein remonstrances from *without doors*, serve to whet up men's wits *within*. If a business happens to be of a doubtful nature, and gives occasion to people *without doors* to animadvert; such business will necessarily become the better understood *within*: but these cases should not happen often. If a spirit of opposition is not directed by a just distinction, and is defective in that wisdom, which teaches us when we are under a *good*, and when under a *bad* administration, *freedom* must necessarily endanger the security of *liberty*; or, in other words, *liberty* will destroy itself.

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It is so very clear, that our common preservation depends upon our *union* and *obedience to laws*, that it may seem absurd to insist on it. Yet it sometimes becomes necessary in this nation, to remind ourselves that the spirit which leads men to restrain their passions, and to exert their reason to distinguish *good* from *evil*, is the only way of administering that *healing balm*, on which the *happiness*, as well as the *safety* of life depends.

The regard and indulgence shewn to the merchants who appeared at the bar of the house of commons against the naturalization, was such as gave me the *highest impressions*, not only of the *excellency and happiness* of this constitution, but also of the *equity and moderation* with which the present government is conducted. What these merchants had to allege was expressed with decency, and without appearance of enmity towards the *Jews*. They were not *prepared* as they *ought* to have been; but this is a proof that they were not moved by any sinister motives. They expressed their *fears* that injurious impressions would be received *abroad*. Those *fears* were then considered

as *chimerical*; but *experience*, as I have already explained, has given them a *sanction*.

I hope there *was not* any set of men in the nation, who kept themselves in *reserve*, to see the issue of the affair, with a view to draw any sinister *advantage* from it. But if there *was* any such, I think I can answer for the merchants, that *they* were no part of that number. After the bill was passed into a law, they neither *wrote*, nor *spoke* factiously; I have good reason to believe this in their favor. The arguments for the proposed naturalization, did indeed appear to those merchants to be ill grounded, leaving too great a field to the *Jews*, already *so much* favored. But in the mean time, the honor and dignity of the legislature ought to suffer no diminution, by any distinction of those whose opinion *were*, or of those whose opinions *were not* for the naturalization, lest a judgment *post factum*, should not only make pretensions to a *wisdom* which *did not exist*; or, *if it did exist*, that such *wisdom* may not become *folly*, by prostituting it to unworthy purposes.

To conclude, if any thing more is to be *said* or *done*, except r——g the a——, I hope it
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will be *said* or *done* with the same moderation and charity, as this pamphlet is written ; remembering, that as the *whole* is of greater importance than a *part* : all considerations which *clash* with this principle, ought to be *absorbed* as *dishonourable* to liberty, and *inconsistent* with the dignity of an *English* subject.

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